

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

627

pattern which is illustrated with the map on page 83. The Soviets are using the sea in the same way they use every other form of activity—as a chessboard on which they can try to checkmate or outmaneuver the opposition as they themselves move forward. And, like good chess players, they are preparing each move with patience and foresight, willing to lose now for later gain.

The narrow-water thesis is based on an analysis of Soviet moves so far. It goes like this: the seas are vast, but for reasons of economy, geography, and navigational convenience, seagoing trade has settled down over the centuries along certain routes. The Nazis knew this well and piled along under these routes with their U-boats. At six key geographic spots around the world these routes come together. To avoid long time-consuming and fuel-consuming passages around huge land masses like Africa or South America, commerce is funneled through channels of water so narrow that sometimes not even two ships can pass. These six points of narrow water are the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, the Strait of Gibraltar, the Straits of Malacca, the Skagerrak leading out of the Baltic, and the Dardanelles leading out of the Black Sea.

The last two points are not in the same category with the others as highways of world commerce. Both the Baltic and the Black Sea are virtually Soviet lakes and the possibility here is that it is Russian fleets that could be bottled up to prevent them from emerging into the Atlantic or the Mediterranean. But in each of the other four potential bottlenecks, the Russians are carry-out a series of moves which are so consistent in style and content that it is difficult to believe that they are mere coincidence.

Take the Suez. Egypt's Nasser now controls the canal. Nasser has accepted not only tremendous amounts of aid from the Russians to help him build his big Aswan Dam and handle his Soviet Mig's and other military purchases, but he has also accepted a Soviet gift of several Russian submarines. To help him run them, the Russians, of course, send in Soviet sub experts and spare parts. This gives the Russians—for the time being, at least—effective control over the subs. They thus have a cadre on hand for an underwater buildup of their own which could be used in the future to seal off the canal or make its use impractical for anyone but the Soviet Union and its friends.

Just in case this is not enough to effectively cut off traffic from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean and then on to the Pacific, the Russians are wedging in at the narrows on the southern end of the Red Sea, to the south of the Suez, where they spent 3 years building a new port at Hodeida on the coast of Yemen. From the way things have been developing in Yemen, this seems to have been a neat package deal. Yemen got a fine port right on the narrow waterway, tons of new military equipment which was landed there even before the port was completed—and a revolution last September that overthrew the monarchy and seriously threatened the status quo in the neighboring oil-rich land of Saudi Arabia.

The Russians have also been busy at the other end of the Mediterranean, where Britain's Rock of Gibraltar has guarded the western gate to that huge inland sea for centuries. Here, so long as Gibraltar stands on one side of the bottleneck, the Soviets cannot at present plug up or cork the passage. But by establishing a commanding military position on the other side of the narrow corridor, they could at least imperil its free use in the future. And this is exactly what they are doing. As the United States moves its own bases out of Morocco under Moroccan pressure, the Soviets have already delivered Mig's, light arms, military vehicles, thousands of tons of ammunition—and are negotiating to build a new shipyard

for Tangiers along with a sub base at Alhucemas Bay just 100 miles southeast of Gibraltar and 150 miles from the big U.S. naval base at Rota, Spain. The Algerian revolution is already clearing the French from the southern shores of the Mediterranean.

Since Soviet naval intrusion into the Mediterranean would dangerously expose the southern flank of NATO strength in Europe, the whole scheme is so logical that the Russians are either doing all this according to a deliberate plan or they have accidentally stumbled across a most astute strategic gambit. We should know by now, however, that the Soviets seldom do anything by accident. Some military observers have been heard to scoff at this thesis on the grounds that naval power moves of this kind are so conventional and old fashioned in this nuclear age that the Russians could not possibly be considering them. "Let them try to seal off the Mediterranean," the answer goes, "and we'll either blast them out of the water or turn our missiles loose on Moscow." The answer—and the recent Cuban adventure bears it out—is that the Russians are sticking to their standard doctrine of making zigzag moves to advance wherever possible, withdraw when they are challenged and always avoid a major military collision. The grab for the narrow waters fits in with this doctrine because it does not involve a single overt move of war, but consists simply of keeping on the move and exploiting all political and strategic opportunities that come along.

Cuba, of course, is another example of the same pattern being applied. Here, whether they have missiles and bombers on hand or not, the Russians are using the same combination of economic penetration, new shipyards, fishing fleets and naval presence (there was a buildup of Soviet subs in the Caribbean during the blockade) to get themselves positioned strategically near another valuable piece of narrow water, the Panama Canal. A naval base in Cuba could also help guard their routes to other Latin American countries as well as bring to an end the historic U.S. domination of the Caribbean. The important point of this thesis is not that the Russians will necessarily try to wage a hot war over any of these pressure points, but that by planting themselves on these narrow corridors they gain a tremendous advantage they never had before.

One of the most important campaigns of all in this shadowy pattern is aimed at controlling the Straits of Malacca, the long, narrow passage between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans and one of the great waterways of the world. Communist armies and guerrillas are hard at work trying to capture southeast Asia in order to grab off the rich rice bowl and encircle India from the east. There is also another target—Singapore, one of the best-positioned naval bases in the world. There is already a power vacuum in this area between Singapore and Suez because of the virtual disappearance since World War II of British seapower in the Indian Ocean. This absence of naval force helps explain the flow of Communist power into southeast Asia, and whichever nation fills this vacuum could easily dominate the entire area. The Russians are already at work in Indonesia, that vast archipelago which stretches from the Indian Ocean, past Singapore to the waters of northern Australia. Indonesia's boss, Sukarno, is a power-hungry man who likes to play with ships, so the Kremlin has given him four Soviet destroyers, eight large and modern patrol ships, a cruiser and two of its long-range "W"-class submarines. Whether Sukarno ever uses this navy in battle or not, all of his threatened neighbors know the ships are there, and they also know who controls them. The Russians have thus set up a strong naval position in the area by proxy—

with Indonesian crews and flags on the ships. In a cold war like this, the psychological advantage of a bold move such as this is enough to embolden our enemies and discourage our friends. The sea is, as always, an integral part of our defenses against the spread of communism and it is still a likely battlefield, whether cold or hot.

At a NATO meeting in Paris last month, Vice Adm. Richard M. Smeeton, of the Royal British Navy, who is NATO deputy supreme allied commander, Atlantic, warned the delegates what the Russians were up to. The Soviet Navy was "more modern than NATO's," he said, and it would not be easy against this new threat to maintain free access to the vital water routes on which the free world depended. He emphasized four routes, all narrow—the Strait of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, the Straits of Malacca, and the Panama Canal. "If we do not control the oceans," he said, summing up, "the Communists will."

THE PRESIDENT'S ECONOMIC MESSAGE

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, I compliment the President on his candor. He has recognized that the country certainly is not moving again. The economic report acknowledges that our growth rate is lagging, capital investment is in the doldrums, unemployment remains high, and the need to improve the education and skills of our people—upon which in the long run economic growth is dependent—remains unmet.

The message presents taxes as a kind of composite answer to these problems. While all of us want our taxes cut, and I favor a tax cut as a stimulus, I doubt if the American people will want to use this measure as the be-all and end-all answer to continuing fiscal problems such as the zooming public debt and continuing deficits. In this sense the message revealed an urgent need for new ideas and new approaches in our fiscal and economic existence.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, nearly every day brings new reports of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union. The closing of the last remaining synagogue in Lvov, U.S.S.R., leaves 30,000 Jews in that area deprived of a place of worship. We see the continued persecution of Jews for so-called economic crimes, the drastic crack-down of Jewish cultural activities of all kinds, the consistent application of capital punishment where Jews are involved, and the monotonous reference to Jewish criminal activities ranging from treason to usury and drunkenness in the synagogue.

Mr. President, there can be no doubt that the Communist rulers of the Soviet Union are using every means at their disposal, both obvious and subtle, to wage an active campaign against the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union. It is certainly significant that of all the Stalinist crimes which Premier Khrushchev has denounced, Khrushchev has made no mention of the vicious terror which Stalin waged against the Jewish people. In a veiled form, this terror and deprivation is continued in the Soviet Union.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

Mr. President, the hypocrisy and falsehoods of Communist methods are well illustrated by this continual persecution of a minority group. This is what respect for human rights means to the Communists. This is what any minority group or any religious people can expect where the Communists actually take power. The United States can play an important role in making these facts clear throughout the world. Certainly our Government should leave no stone unturned in the United Nations and elsewhere to publicize and document the infamy of religious persecution which did not die with Nazi Germany but continues in more subtle forms throughout the Soviet Communist empire.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to include, following my remarks in the Record, an excellent article from the January 1963 issue of Foreign Affairs by Moshe Decter, whose research on the subject of Jewish minorities in the Soviet Union is widely known and acclaimed. I also ask unanimous consent to include a recent article from the Jewish Veteran, monthly publication of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, and a dispatch printed in the Jewish Press on the subject of Soviet anti-Semitism.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Jewish Press]

SOVIET SENTENCES MORE JEWS TO DEATH

PARIS.—Nine Jews were sentenced to death and ten others were given long prison terms in two separate mass trials in the Ukraine, all charged with economic crimes, according to press dispatches from Moscow received here today.

Six of the Jews sentenced to death were charged with illegal financial operations, and three others with corruption and handling stolen property, the dispatch reported.

In one of the cases, illegal financial operations were allegedly committed in Kharkov, involving 10 million rubles and large quantities of gold, platinum, diamonds, watches and other precious objects. In the second case, the charges alleged, five directors of a manufacturing plant at Ivano Frankovsk had produced extra merchandise, valued at more than 2 million rubles, selling the stuff in the black market through assistants.

Jewish circles here today took a very grave view of these latest mass persecutions of Jews, seeing in the trials another instance in which Soviet authorities have made Jews the scapegoats for the regime's financial difficulties.

(In Washington, National Commander Morton London, of the Jewish War Veterans of the U.S.A., today made known his organization feels that not enough is being done in the United States to challenge rising Soviet action against Jews. He called for a vigorous campaign coinciding with the opening of the new session of Congress. Mr. London said the Jewish War Veterans was planning a campaign against new anti-Semitic manifestations in Russia through all available means.)

[From the Jewish Veteran, January 1963]

JEWISH WAR VETERANS ASKS FREE WORLD TO CHALLENGE SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

A massive protest by the free world was asked today by Morton L. London, national commander of the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America, to challenge Soviet anti-Semitism. He called for reaction

to the action which precludes any possibility of freedom of worship. This results from the closing of the last remaining synagogue in Lvov, U.S.S.R. This leaves the 30,000 Jews in that community and area without a single hour of worship.

The hypocrisy of Communist attempts "to seduce racial and religious minorities throughout the world" must be exposed by spotlighting Soviet religious persecutions within the U.S.S.R., said Mr. London. He called for an intensification of efforts in the year 1963 toward this end, at the United Nations and by all free peoples and governments.

Mr. London pointed out that direct and massive confrontation is the best way of checking Soviet excesses. He cited the Communist retreat in Cuba in the face of open confrontation as evidence establishing the validity of this argument.

Reviewing the strangulation of religious and cultural Jewish life in the U.S.S.R., Mr. London said Soviet policy placed the Russian Jew in an unmerciful vise; that they are not permitted to live a religious life, nor emigrate to Israel or any other country, or anywhere else where they can live freely as Jews. He said this is a "spiritual strangulation and deprives Jews of their faith, history, and religious concept of brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God."

Mr. London said the failure of the free world to forcefully confront the Soviet Union on its new anti-Semitic campaign has emboldened the "Commissars of atheism." He referred to the Soviet actions as increasingly arrogant, "Nazilike steps."

The Lvov Pravda newspaper, speaking for the regime, and seeking to link the synagogue with alleged economic crimes termed religious Jews "idlers, speculators, parasites, and money grabbers." Several members of the synagogues board of directors were arrested and charged with profiteering and hooliganism.

Mr. London found the synagogue closing reminiscent of the early days of the German Nazi regime.

He made it known that the Jewish War Veterans plan a vigorous fight to challenge this Soviet policy through all available means.

[From the Foreign Affairs magazine, January 1963]

THE STATUS OF THE JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION (By Moshe Decter)

During the past quarter-century, enlightened public opinion throughout the world has become keenly sensitive to the treatment of minorities as a barometer of moral decency and social sanity. The awesome experiences of this period have drawn particular attention to the symbolic and actual position of the Jewish minority. In this light, the status of the Jews in the Soviet Union warrants special concern.

The situation of Soviet Jews can be comprehended primarily within the framework of Soviet nationalities policy. That policy, as reflected in Communist party directives, the Soviet Constitution and public law, is based on the ideological acceptance of the concept of national self-determination and on the legal recognition of the right of all nationalities within Soviet borders to cultural freedom. Actual Soviet policy toward the Jews clearly violates these principles. It is tantamount to a policy of discrimination for it denies to the Jews such ethnic-cultural rights as are generally accorded all other Soviet nationalities.

The Soviet Union officially recognizes Jews as a nationality. In the personal identification papers which all Soviet citizens carry (the internal passport), Jews must list their nationality as "Jewish" (Yevrei) just as other nationalities—such as Russians, Ukrainians, Georgians and others—must list theirs.

Thus, in the official Soviet census returns of 1959, published in Pravda on February 4, 1960, Jews are listed among the official nationalities. In all previous censuses, citizens were required to provide proof, in the form of their internal passport, of their claim to belong to one or another nationality. In 1959, for the first time, they were allowed to volunteer, without proof, the nationality with which they chose to be identified. Despite the possibility thus provided for Jews to "pass," 2,268,000 people specified their nationality as Jewish (there are reasons to believe that the total number more closely approximates 3 million).

Soviet Jews constitute 1.09 percent of the population, but they occupy a far more significant place than this figure suggests. Of the considerably more than 100 diverse Soviet nationalities, the Jews are 11th numerically. The great majority of them live in the three most populous Union Republics: 88 percent in the Russian Republic, 87 percent in the Ukraine, 7 percent in White Russia; but there is no republic of the U.S.S.R. where Jewish communities may not be found. And an important reflection of their sense of identification after several decades of direct and indirect forcible assimilation is that 472,000 (20.8 percent) gave Yiddish, which is the traditional language of speech and literature of East European Jews, as their mother tongue.

The Jews are also regarded, secondarily, as a religious group. This complicates their status and makes it even more precarious. For though their unique dual character is a natural outgrowth of Jewish history and tradition, it creates unusual difficulties for them under Soviet conditions. An assault upon the Jewish religion, for example, will inevitably be taken, by Jews and non-Jews alike, as an attack upon the Jewish nationality as a whole—upon Jews as such. And they have come increasingly to be considered an alien group in a land where they have resided for more than a thousand years.

Their vulnerability is increased by the fact that, unlike most other Soviet nationalities, which have their own geographic territories, the Jews are widely dispersed throughout the country. They are also the only Soviet nationality, a majority of whose total world population lives outside the U.S.S.R. Because the Soviet Jewish minority has historic and traditional ties of culture, religion and family with Jewish communities throughout the world outside the Communist bloc, it is subject to even greater suspicion.

Soviet Jews are especially sensitive to their vulnerable condition because their memory of what they themselves call the "black years"—the last 5 years of Stalin's rule, when his terror assumed a viciously and openly anti-Semitic form—has not been erased. One reason they have not forgotten is that Soviet policy toward Jews and Judaism has remained essentially the same since 1948—with the vitally important exception, of course, that the terror is gone. And they are not less keenly cognizant of the fact that, of all the crimes of Stalin catalogued by Premier Khrushchev and his colleagues at the 20th and 22d Congresses of the C.P.S.U., his crimes against the Jews were passed over in utter silence.

The significance of Soviet policy toward the Jews was dramatically highlighted in September 1961 by the publication of a poem, "Babi Yar," in the Literary Gazette, organ of the Soviet Writers Union. This poem by a loyal Communist, Yevgeny Yevtushenko—one of the most popular young Soviet poets—caused a sensation. It is a searing indictment of anti-Semitism both historically and as a facet of contemporary Soviet society. In his opening line, the poet protests that there is still no monument to the scores of thousands of Jewish martyrs slaughtered by the Nazis in 1941 at Babi Yar, a vale on the outskirts of Kiev. This

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

629

is a pointed reflection of the fact that Soviet authorities have been consistently silent about the nature, dimensions and even the very existence of the unique Jewish tragedy during the Second World War. Though not himself a Jew, Yevtushenko identifies himself in his poem with persecuted Jewry throughout history. He thus points up the existence of a historic Jewish people, which Soviet doctrine denies—and of Jewish history, which Soviet policy prevents Jews from learning.

Yevtushenko is not alone in mirroring the mood and sensibility of the literate younger Soviet generation. There is a whole underground literature that passes from hand to hand among the university and literary youth, and one of its frequent leitmotifs is isolated, disadvantaged Soviet Jewry. In this, as in their general quest for a purified idealism, Yevtushenko and his confrères are in the main stream of the honorable tradition of the liberal Russian intelligentsia from Pushkin to Tolstoy and Gorky.

II

The Jews are the only nationality which is deprived of the basic cultural rights accorded to all others in the U.S.S.R. These rights have recently been reaffirmed by no less an authoritative source than the new party program adopted by the 22d congress in October 1961: "The Community Party guarantees the complete freedom of each citizen of the U.S.S.R. to speak and to rear and educate his children in any language—ruling out all privileges, restrictions, or compulsions in the use of this or that language."

Until 1948 the Jews were permitted a cultural life in their own language, Yiddish (though Hebrew was forbidden), on a large scale: newspapers, publishing houses, thousands of books, a variety of literary journals, professional repertory theaters and dramatic schools, literary and cultural research institutes, a network of schools, and other means of perpetuating Jewish cultural values, albeit in a Communist form. In 1948 (and in some cases during the purges of 1937-39), the whole vast array of institutions was forcibly closed.

No basic change in this policy of cultural deprivation occurred, despite Stalin's death and the gradual easing of the tyranny, until 1959. Since then, a grand total of six Yiddish books has been published—by writers long dead. (None has been published in 1962 as of November.) They were put out in editions of 30,000 each, mostly for foreign consumption, but those copies that were available to Jews inside the U.S.S.R. were eagerly and quickly snapped up.

This total of six books is to be compared with the facilities made available to many ethnic groups far smaller than that of the Soviet Jews, and which do not possess as ancient, continuous, and rich a culture. Two striking examples are in order. The Maris and Yakuts are two tiny primitive Asian groups which number 504,000 and 236,000 respectively. In 1961 alone, Soviet printing presses produced 62 books for the Maris and 144 for the Yakuts, in their own languages.

The Soviet Yiddish theater was once considered one of the prides of Soviet artistic achievement. Today there is only a handful of amateur theatrical groups, made up of Jewish workers banded together after working hours, existing on a marginal basis; there is not even such a group in Moscow or Leningrad, the two major centers of Soviet Jewry, together totaling nearly 1 million.

In the autumn of 1961, for the first time since 1948, a Yiddish literary journal, Sovietish Heimland, began publication as a bimonthly. Welcome though this is, it is no more than the exception proving the rule. But it does represent, along with the meager half-dozen Yiddish books (and the concerts of Yiddish dramatic readings and folk songs

which have been permitted and which have been attended by millions of Jews in recent years) a tacit repudiation of the oft-repeated Soviet assertion that Soviet Jews have lost interest in their culture. This state of affairs is again to be contrasted with the press available to the Maris and Yakuts. The former have 17 newspapers, the latter 28.

A frequent Soviet rationalization for the absence of cultural institutions for the Jews is that the Jews are so widely dispersed. This is invalidated, however, by the fact that tiny minorities like the Chechens (418,000), Ossetians (410,000), and Komis (431,000), which do not have their own territories, yet have their own newspapers and literatures in their own languages, and schools where their languages are taught. The Tadjik minority in Uzbekistan (312,000 out of a total Republic population of 8,106,000) has similar rights and institutions, as have the Poles in White Russia (539,000 out of 8,055,000).

It is not just schools that are forbidden to the Jews.¹ They are not even allowed classes in Yiddish or Hebrew in the general schools; nor, for that matter, classes in the Russian language (comparable to Sunday school education in the United States) on Jewish history and culture. Nor are Soviet Jews permitted to have contact on purely Jewish cultural matters with Jewish institutions abroad.

III

All religions in the U.S.S.R. exist very precariously within a context of official anti-religious ideology and propaganda. In a variety of fundamental respects, however, Judaism is subjected to unique discrimination. Jewish congregations are permitted no variant of the right enjoyed by the others to maintain nationwide federations or other central organizations through which religious functions are governed, religious needs serviced, religious belief bolstered, and communication between congregations strengthened. Rabbis and synagogue leaders have nothing at all comparable to the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, the National Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Armenian Church, the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia, or the Moslem Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

These churches are permitted a wide range of religious publishing facilities, publishing houses, and paper supplies. Thus, the Russian Orthodox version of the Bible was reprinted in 1957 in an edition of 50,000. In 1958, 10,000 copies of a Russian-language Protestant Bible were published by the Baptists. The same year the Moslem Directorate in Ufa and Tashkent produced editions of 4,000 and 5,000 copies, respectively, of the Koran. And in May 1962 the Moslem Board for Central Asia issued still another new edition. It should be noted that these editions of the Korans are in Arabic, a language not spoken by Soviet Moslems, but used for religious study and other religious functions. This is comparable to what the status of Hebrew might be there.

Judaism is permitted no publication facilities and no publications. No Hebrew Bible has been published for Jews since 1917. (Nor has a Russian translation of the Jewish version of the Old Testament been allowed.) The study of Hebrew has been outlawed, even for religious purposes. Not a single Jewish religious book of any other kind has appeared in print since the early 1920's. In contrast, prayerbooks are available to the other denominations in relatively ample sup-

ply: the Baptists were authorized in 1956 to publish 25,000 hymnals; the Lutheran Church of Latvia has produced 1,500 copies of a psalter and is now preparing a new edition of its 1954 hymnal. Religious calendars, indispensable guides for religious holidays and observances, are freely available. Other types of religious publications are also permitted. The Russian Orthodox Church publishes the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate, its official monthly organ. It has also published collections of sermons and several annuals. The All-Union Council of Baptists puts out a bimonthly, the Fraternal Review.

No such prerogatives have been vouchsafed to the Jews. Until 1958, no siddur (Sabbath prayerbook in Hebrew) was printed. In that year, an edition of 3,000 copies of a pre-Revolutionary siddur was provided by photo-off-set—a ridiculously small figure for the hundreds of thousands of religious Jews whose prayerbooks are tattered and worn. No edition at all has been allowed of special prayerbooks which Jews use on their high holidays and major festivals. As for calendars, the Jews have had to depend on photographed copies of handwritten ones, surreptitiously circulated from hand to hand.

A subtler but harsher form of discrimination has resulted from the ban on Hebrew. The Russian Orthodox, Baptist, Lutheran, Georgian, or Armenian believer is not handicapped in his participation in religious services, for they are conducted in his native spoken tongue. But the half-century-old ban on Hebrew has made it impossible for Jews educated under the Soviet regime to make sense of their synagogue services. Thousands come—and must stand mute and dumb.

The other major ecclesiastical bodies are authorized to produce a variety of religious articles—ritual objects such as church vessels, vestments, candles, beads, crucifixes, and ikons. The mass sale of such articles, especially candles, is an important source of church income. But the production of such indispensable religious objects as the tallis (prayer shawl) and tefillin (phylacteries) is prohibited to Jews.

A brief statistical examination illuminates the extent to which the faithful are served by churches and priests, synagogues and rabbis. For the 40 million Russian Orthodox there are some 20,000 churches and 35,000 priests (quite apart from those in the 69 monasteries and convents). This comes to one place of worship for each 2,000 believers and one priest for each 1,100 believers. For the 3 million Baptists (including women and children who are affiliated through family membership) there are roughly 6,000 parishes and pastors, which amounts to one place of worship and one minister for each 500 believers. The Lutheran churches of Latvia and Estonia have 100 churches and 150 pastors for about 350,000 communicants—approximately one church for each 3,500 believers and one minister for each 2,300. By contrast, there are some 60 or 70 synagogues and rabbis for the nearly 1 million Jewish believers—which amounts to one synagogue and one rabbi for each 15,000 to 16,000 Jewish believers.

Most religious groups also maintain educational institutions to prepare men for the priesthood. The Russian Orthodox have two academies and five seminaries; the Moslems have a madrasa where their mullahs are trained. In addition, quite a few Moslem clerical students have been permitted to advance their studies at the theological seminary in Cairo. Young Baptist seminarians have attended theological schools in Great Britain and Canada. Such programs serve the twofold function of maintaining spiritual contacts with co-religionists abroad and of enhancing the quality of religious education at home.

Until 1957, religious Jews had no institution to train rabbis. In that year, a yeshiva

¹ Though Soviet law permits any 10 parents who request it to organize instruction for their children in their own language, Jewish parents have been understandably loath to take advantage of this provision.

(rabbinical academy) was established as an adjunct of the Great Synagogue in Moscow. Since then, precisely two men have been ordained as rabbis, neither of whom has functioned as a synagogue leader. Of the 13 students at the yeshiva until April 1962, 11 were over 40—which means that very little provision was made for replacing the rabbis now serving in the U.S.S.R., all of whom are in their seventies and eighties. This is to be contrasted with the "accent on youth" for Russian Orthodox seminarians. The Jewish community is thus being deprived of needed religious leadership.

A most serious restriction was imposed on the yeshiva in April 1962, when a majority of the students, who came from the oriental Jewish communities of Georgia and Daghestan, were forbidden to resume their studies in Moscow, on the ground that they lacked the necessary residence permits for the capital city which is suffering from a housing shortage. This left just four students in an institution that has been transformed into a virtually empty shell. Nor has any Jewish seminarian in the last 5 years been allowed to advance his studies at institutions of Jewish learning abroad.

In addition to their prerogatives at home, other Soviet ecclesiastical bodies have enjoyed the privilege of regular and permanent ties with coreligionists abroad, an incalculably important boost to their morale. Since 1956 there have been innumerable exchange visits of religious delegations—Russian Orthodox, Baptists, and Moslems—between the U.S.S.R. and Western Europe, the United States and the Middle East. The Soviet Moslems have for years been associated with a World Congress of Moslems. At the end of October 1962 a national conference of Moslem leaders, meeting in Tashkent, was authorized to establish a permanent department for international relations, with headquarters in Moscow, which would speak for all Moslem boards in the country. And within the past year, the World Council of Churches (Protestant) accepted the full-fledged membership of the Russian Orthodox Church and of five other major Soviet ecclesiastical bodies: the Georgian and Armenian Churches, the Baptists, and the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia.

No Jewish religious delegation from the U.S.S.R. has even been permitted to visit religious institutions abroad. Nor are synagogues in the Soviet Union allowed to have any kind of official contact, permanent ties or institutional relations with Jewish religious, congregational, or rabbinic bodies outside their country.

The process of attrition and pressure against Judaism and Jewish religious institutions and practitioners has been systematically stepped up since the middle of 1961. In June and July of that year, the synagogue presidents in six major provincial cities were deposed. In that same period, six lay religious leaders in Moscow and Leningrad were secretly arrested. In September 1961, on the occasion of the Jewish high holy days, the authorities ordered the construction of a special loge in the Moscow Great Synagogue to seat the Israeli Embassy officials who came to attend services—the better to cut off the thousands of Jews who came to the synagogue from their fellow Jews from abroad. In October 1961, the Moscow and Leningrad leaders were secretly tried and convicted of alleged espionage, and sentenced to lengthy prison terms. In January 1962, *Trud*, the central trade union paper, published a notorious article that portrayed these devout religious Jews as agents of Israeli spies who, in turn, were described as tools of American intelligence.

On March 17, 1962, Rabbi Judah Leib Levin of the Moscow synagogue announced that the public baking and sale of matzah (the unleavened bread indispensable to the observance of the Passover) would be for-

bidden. This was the first time in Soviet history that a total ban on matzah was enforced throughout the country. The ban was actually part of the larger official attempt to destroy the bonds between Soviet Jewry and the traditional roots of Judaism that have a national historical significance. Since Passover is the ancient feast that commemorates the liberation of the Hebrews from Egyptian slavery and their establishment as a religious people, this holiday is subjected to especially virulent assault in the Soviet press. It is linked with Zionist ideology, the State of Israel, chauvinism and so forth. The propaganda goes so far as to brand Jewish religious holidays, and Passover in particular, as subversive. "Judaism kills love for the Soviet motherland"—this is a slogan from a typical press article.

All this adds up to a systematic policy of attrition against religious Jews and their religious practices. The synagogues are the only remaining institutions in the U.S.S.R. which still embody the residues of traditional Jewish values and where Jews may still gather formally as Jews. The objective of this policy is clearly to intimidate and atomize Soviet Jewry, to isolate it both from its past and from its brethren in other parts of the world, to destroy its specifically Jewish spirit.

IV

This policy of cultural and religious repression is conducted within the charged atmosphere of a virulent press campaign against Judaism. From it the image of the Jew emerges in traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes. The majority of the articles appear in the provincial press—in the larger cities, frequently the capitals, of the various republics, primarily the Russian Republic, the Ukraine, and White Russia. These are the regions where the bulk of Soviet Jewry lives and where popular anti-Semitism is still widespread and endemic.

A study of a dozen such publications reveals that the following themes recur repeatedly:

1. The stereotype that emerges most blatantly is that of Jews as money worshippers. Rabbis and lay leaders of the synagogues are consistently portrayed as extorting money from the faithful for ostensibly religious purposes, their object, in fact, being to feather their own nests. Thus, whether it is the religious service itself or some ancient rite, it is all presided over by religious figures who are in reality money-grubbing thieves.

2. Judaism is constantly denigrated. All its rites are mocked in a manner which contrasts harshly with the Soviet Union's boasts of religious toleration. Circumcision, for example, is denounced in the crudest terms as a barbarous and unhealthful ritual; "The priests of the synagogue offer the regular sacrifice to their God, Jehovah."

3. Drunkenness in the synagogue is another favorite theme. The scandalous rogues who pocket the money innocently contributed by the believers are shown as devoted to drink—guzzlers who confuse their prayers under the influence of alcohol. The leader of a synagogue burial society is quoted as saying: "In booze—I believe; in God—I don't."

4. Brawling is alleged to occur frequently in the synagogue, invariably over the division of the ill-gotten profits from religious speculation. The newspapers name the names of the religious misleaders allegedly involved and frequently give their addresses and public positions, if any.

5. In these articles Jews often are used to inform on fellow Jews and to denounce Judaism. Many articles are signed by Jews; some contain recantations, usually by elderly men, of their religious faith.

6. A favorite device is for the writer to single out for special attention the adult children of elderly religious Jews. They are

usually named and their public positions (teacher, engineer, nurse, etc.) noted, as well as their places of work and, where relevant, their party membership. Thus, not only the parents but the presumably loyal, nonreligious Communist children are held up to public obloquy, in a not very subtle effort to exert social blackmail on them.

7. Propaganda assaults on private prayer meetings are also frequent. Since many synagogues throughout the country are closed, Jews have taken to foregathering in each other's homes for prayers. Such gatherings are frowned upon, indeed unauthorized, and have regularly been dispersed, and their members warned and even punished. Articles list those who organize and attend such prayer meetings.

8. Perhaps the most ominous of all the themes is the consistent portrayal of the tenets and practitioners of traditional Judaism as potentially or actually subversive. The following references are typical: "The Jewish clericals and bourgeois nationalists provide grist for the mills of our class enemies, distract workers from their class and Communist interests, and weaken their consciousness with chauvinist poison." "The traditions bolstered by the synagogue are doubly harmful. First of all, they contribute to the perpetuation of the false religious world outlook. Secondly, they serve as an instrument for the propagation of bourgeois political views which are alien to us."

This must be contrasted with the resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, signed by Premier Khrushchev on November 10, 1954, and reechoed in Pravda on August 21, 1959: "It must not be forgotten that there are citizens who, though actively participating in the country's life and faithfully fulfilling their civic duty, still remain under the influence of various religious beliefs. Toward these the party has already demanded, and will always demand, a tactful, considerate attitude. It is especially stupid to put these under political suspicion because of their religious convictions."

These standards have been clearly violated where Jews and Judaism are concerned. In the Soviet Union official atheism affects all religious groups; but it is only with regard to Jews and Judaism that the theme of lack of patriotism, disloyalty and subversion is injected into the propaganda. When the religion of the Russian Orthodox, the Armenian Orthodox, the Georgian Orthodox, the Baptist or the Moslem is attacked in the press he does not thereby come under political suspicion, nor does he feel his loyalty impugned either as a member of a given nationality or as a Soviet citizen. By the same token, the mass of nonbelieving Russians, Armenians, Georgians or Uzbeks do not feel that they are involved when the religious members of their nationality see their religion attacked in the official propaganda.

But with the Jews it is different. Because of the persistence of popular anti-Semitism, subtly encouraged from above, an attack upon the religious Jew and the portrayal of the Jewish image in traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes is felt even by the nonreligious Jew as somehow involving him too. And he is not far wrong in feeling that many of his non-Jewish neighbors understand it in the same way. Small wonder, then, that—in the absence of a consistent educational campaign against anti-Semitism, such as was conducted in Lenin's time—an assault upon the Jewish religion will be sensed, by Jews and non-Jews alike, as an assault upon the entire Jewish group.

V

In such an atmosphere, it is hardly surprising that Jews should be subject to a subtle policy of discrimination in employment, education, and other sectors of public life. That policy may be summarized in the phrase attributed, perhaps apocryphally but

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

631

nonetheless aptly, to a top-level Soviet leader: "Don't hire, don't fire, don't promote."

A few especially gifted or brilliant Jewish individuals can still be found within the Soviet leadership. Many occupy positions in the middle ranks of professional, cultural, and economic life. But virtually all face potent discriminatory measures in key security-sensitive areas of public life. The instrumentality for this exclusion, carried out quietly and informally, is the nationality listing on the internal passport. Thus, Jews have virtually disappeared from positions of major responsibility in the diplomatic service and, with rare exceptions, in the armed forces. This contrasts sharply with the situation that prevailed from 1917 to the late 1930's. The proportion in higher education, science, the professions and political life has also been declining for many years. The key to the decrease is the system of nationality quotas in university admissions. A considerable body of evidence points to the existence of a numerus clausus for Jews in the universities and, in some cases, of numerus nullus. This explains the decline of Jewish representation in important activities.

The extent of the decline in higher education is reflected in the fact that Jews today represent 3.1 percent of all students in higher education, as contrasted with 13.5 percent in 1935. During this 27-year period, the Jewish proportion of the population decreased merely from 1.6 to 1.1 percent. There is no way of accounting for this drastic decline in a country with an expanding economy and growing opportunities—except by discrimination.

Even the present 3.1 percent is a skewed figure, for it fails to take account of two decisive factors. In the first place, the category "higher education," as given in Soviet statistics, lumps together both universities and many other types of specialized academies such as teacher training schools, music conservatories and journalism institutes. Jews have a strong position in the latter types, and this fact artificially raises the total by balancing out the much lower proportion of Jews in the universities as such. Secondly, it is estimated that 90 percent of Soviet Jews are urbanized. Most universities are located in the larger cities and recruit their student bodies from the children of the urban intelligentsia, in which the Jews have traditionally occupied a leading position. To get a more accurate measure of Jewish representation in higher education in proportion to the population, the Jewish proportion would have to be compared not with the percentage of Jews in the total population of a given republic, but with the percentage of Jews in an urban university area.

As for the professions, the declining proportion of Jews has been as much as admitted by Premier Khrushchev and Culture Minister Furtseva themselves as a matter of policy. (In making such admissions, they have referred to the necessity of making room for our own intelligentsia—clearly giving away their feeling that the Jews are not truly indigenous.) In general, the proportion of non-Jewish nationalities among professionals has been rising at a very rapid rate, but that of the Jews at a much slower rate. For example, since 1955 the number of Russians and Ukrainians in science has increased by 40 percent, that of the Jews by 25 percent. In 1955, Jews constituted 11 percent of Soviet scientists; the figure was 10.2 percent by 1958 and 9.8 percent by 1960. Even this figure is deceptively high, for it includes a substantial number of an older generation who had far freer access to the universities and the professions in the 1920's and 1930's. It is obviously the Jewish youth who are hardest hit by the declining rate; they have to be very

good indeed even to get into the universities, and they find it increasingly difficult to enter the professions.

The disappearance of Jews from leadership positions in political life has been striking and dramatic. Soviet spokesmen have tried to counter this fact by noting recently that 7,623 Jews were elected to local soviets all over the country. This seems impressive until it is realized that, as of 1960, more than 1,800,000 such local deputies were elected. The large number of Jews thus comes to less than one-half of 1 percent. Moreover, in all but 1 of the Supreme Soviets of the 15 republics, the number of Jews is far below their proportion of the population.

When this pattern of discrimination is linked to other facets of Soviet policy toward the Jews, it becomes clear that they are considered a security risk group—suspected of actual or potential disloyalty, of essential "alien-ness."

VI

Many nuances of the same pattern of hostility have been revealed in the massive campaign waged with increasing severity in the past few years against the widespread economic abuses that characterize so much of Soviet life. A series of decrees, beginning in May 1961, called for capital punishment for such offenses as embezzlement of state property, currency speculation, and bribery. The authorities have made no attempt to conceal their concern over these activities or the fact that vast numbers of the population engage in them. Major pronouncements by leading officials have, indeed, given a picture of a country shot through with corruption—ironically, of a capitalist sort. All organs of the party, the Komsomol, the state, the press, and other major institutions have been pressed into service in the campaign against it. The secret police, one of the last strongholds of Stalinism, plays a key role. And the public at large has been strenuously urged on to be vigilant, with all the overtones of vigilanteism.

Though the campaign's objective may not be anti-Jewish, there is little doubt that it has had anti-Jewish implications and consequences, of which the authorities—and the secret police—cannot but be aware.

Thus the Soviet press has especially featured those trials that have resulted in death sentences (frequently accompanied by the denial of the right of appeal). To date, 36 such trials have been reported in 26 different cities. In these trials, death sentences have been meted out to 70 individuals—of whom 42 (and possibly 45) are Jews. In a number of cases, the Jewish religious affiliation of some of the culprits was made explicit: the synagogue was portrayed as the locus of illegal transactions, religious Jews were mockingly described as money worshippers, the rabbi was shown as their accomplice, their family connections in Israel and the United States were pointed up. In general, the Jews are presented as people "whose only God is gold," who fit through the interstices of the economy, cunningly manipulate naive non-Jewish officials, prey upon honest Soviet workers and cheat them of their patrimony. They are portrayed as the initiators and masterminds of the criminal plots; the non-Jews are depicted primarily as the recipients of bribes and as accomplices.

The ominous significance of this publicity is clear. It informs the conditioned Soviet reader that the government thinks the tiny community of Jews, which constitutes little more than 1 percent of the population, is responsible for nearly two-thirds—and in some areas 100 percent—of the economic crimes that warrant capital punishment. Anti-Semitic feelings are exacerbated. From many cities come reports of grumbling on the

food queues: "The Jews are responsible for the shortages." Western travelers who were in Vilna during and immediately after a major economic trial in February 1962—where all eight accused were Jews, four of them receiving capital punishment and four lengthy prison terms—reported that the authorities mobilized the entire population to attend what was universally called the Jewish show trial. The atmosphere of fright in the Jewish communities may be imagined.

VII

In sum, Soviet policy places the Jews in an inextricable vise. They are allowed neither to assimilate, nor live a full Jewish life, nor to emigrate (as many would wish) to Israel or any other place where they might live freely as Jews. The policy stems, in turn, from doctrinal contradictions abetted by traditional anti-Jewish sentiments. On the one hand, the authorities want the Jews to assimilate; on the other hand, they irrationally fear the full penetration of Soviet life which assimilation implies. So the Jews are formally recognized as a nationality, as a religious group, as equal citizens—but are at the same time deprived of their national and religious rights as a group, and of full equality as individuals.

Though the Jews are considered a Soviet nationality, official doctrine has consistently denied the existence of a historic Jewish people as an entity, and official practice has always sought to discourage Soviet Jews from feeling themselves members of that entity throughout the world.

Soviet policy as a whole, then, amounts to spiritual strangulation—the deprivation of Soviet Jewry's natural right to know the Jewish past and to participate in the Jewish present. And without a past and a present, the future is precarious indeed.

LAUNCHING PHOTO CARAVAN, U.S.A.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, it was a great source of pleasure for me to participate in the sendoff for Photo Caravan, U.S.A., last Wednesday, January 16. This giant photographic project, sponsored by the Eastman Kodak Co., from my home city of Rochester, will travel throughout the United States for a year to capture on color film scenes typical of America. The huge picture-taking project will be completed in time for the opening of the World's Fair in April 1964, where the photographs will be exhibited inside the Kodak pavilion and on its 80-foot Tower of Photography. There five giant color pictures will be specially illuminated so as to be visible day and night for miles. They will be changed every several weeks.

In addition to providing pictures for use at the World's Fair, which is expected to attract over 70 million people from all over the world, the U.S. Travel Service may plan a special exhibit of some of the photographs in other countries throughout the free world.

It is gratifying to witness the close cooperation between Federal and State Governments and private enterprise that will insure far-reaching consequences for this ambitious project.

The sponsors of the caravan are to be congratulated for their imagination and vision. The caravan will record on film all aspects of America, capturing the

scenic grandeur of our cities, villages, and farms—memorializing the lives, work, and play of our people.

I believe in the old maxim "a picture is worth a thousand words." The tens of thousands of people from foreign lands who will visit the fair will take home with them a very distinct opinion of America, largely based on what they see there.

Unlike the breakdown in spoken and written communications which occur sometimes in our relations with other countries, there is no language barrier in the world of photography. It is a common language. It is a medium which seldom leaves room for misinterpretation or misrepresentation.

Therefore, what better way lies open to us than to portray all that America stands for with pictures? They will inform and entertain our foreign guests, while educating them in the geography of our Nation. Posted high above the fair with the sky as a background, the caravan photos will make a dramatic and long-lasting impression on all who view them.

THE NATION'S TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in the January 21, 1963, edition of the Washington Evening Star, on the front page, is an article which distresses me—and 10,700 other persons—deeply.

The 10,000 persons distressed are the daily riders of the North Shore & Milwaukee Railway, which rolled to a stop and ended its 68 years of service at about 4 a.m. on January 21.

The 700 persons distressed are the employees. They are now statistics among the unemployed.

The cessation of operations, Mr. President, of the North Shore & Milwaukee Railway is the passing of an era—when it need not be passed. As a member of the Surface Transportation Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Commerce, I am vitally concerned when I learn that another mode of public transportation has ended, or desires to end, its operations.

Mr. President, America cannot afford the problem which transportation provides. This problem must be solved. Today, as a result of North Shore & Milwaukee's cessation of operations, it means that at least 5,000 more vehicles may well be going into Chicago each day. I am sure that Chicago has enough of a traffic problem, just as we here in the Nation's Capital, have a traffic problem.

I ask you, Mr. President and my distinguished colleagues, if we are going to continue to persist to eliminate more public transportation facilities or encourage their operations. Dumping more traffic in already-congested areas will not solve the problem. It only adds more to the problem.

I am sure that my colleagues join with me in anxiously awaiting the message of the President pertaining to transportation.

I choose, however, at this time, Mr. President, to go on record as saying that I shall await the President's transportation message; but then I shall work un-

tiringly for an answer to this knotty problem.

In northern Indiana, we have a South Shore commuter line, similar to the now defunct North Shore. I would hate to think of what would happen to Chicago if the South Shore should also go out of business. There would be more unemployed and more traffic pouring into Chicago.

Mr. President, because this national problem deserves the attention of each Member of this august body, I, therefore, ask unanimous consent at this time that the news report as it appeared in the Washington Evening Star now be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEN THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED HIT END OF LINE AS NORTH SHORE QUILTS

CHICAGO, January 21.—It was the end of the line today for the 10,000 daily riders and 700 employees of the Chicago, North Shore & Milwaukee Railway.

The 106-mile electric commuter line between Chicago and Milwaukee—known as the North Shore—rolled to a stop and ended its 68 years of operations at about 4 a.m.

Thousands of commuters will have to find other means of transportation, but the railroad's employees face a stiffer problem. They have to find jobs.

To the last, some hoped for an 11th-hour order from Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner or President Kennedy staying the line's death.

Allan C. Williams, a consultant to the Lake County, Ill., Planning Commission, had requested such orders yesterday. Lake County embraces many of the homes of commuters north of Chicago who depended heavily on the line.

The North Shore obtained permission of the Interstate Commerce Commission to abandon operations on the grounds it was losing \$1,000 a day.

But the North Shore Commuters Association has bitterly attacked the road's management, charging it was needlessly dumping the North Shore.

The association said the line's owners, a holding corporation named the Susquehanna Corp., would gain a multimillion-dollar tax break on its other operations when the line shut down.

The commuters' group, in another attempt to keep the wheel rolling, has offered to lease or buy the line. It offered to lease the road for \$300,000 a year, and to pay \$150,000 for an option to buy the railway for \$2.5 million when it manages to raise that much.

The commuters offered to underwrite losses to keep the line moving during negotiations, but that offer was not accepted.

Last runs of the trains brought out hundreds of railroad fans for a final ride.

CRABCAKES IN THE SENATE RESTAURANT

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, last week my home-State pride forced me to address this body about the crabcakes which were being served in the Senate restaurants as Maryland crabcakes.

As I pointed out at the time, there was nothing personal in my remarks about our chefs nor was there any attempt to belittle the tastes of those diners who enjoy the crabcakes served on Capitol Hill.

I was insistent, however, on the fact that what I ate for lunch were definitely not Maryland crabcakes.

Today, Mr. President, I want to indicate that my views on the subject are strictly nonpartisan and that Marylanders are quick to place their gastronomic achievements above politics when their worldwide reputation has been maligned.

In my hand, Mr. President, is a letter from the charming Mrs. J. Millard Tawes, wife of Maryland's Governor, who is a member of the other party and a native of our State's Eastern Shore.

In her letter, Mrs. Tawes says:

DEAR SENATOR BEALL: I have just read this article in the Baltimore News-Post about our Maryland crabcakes, and I'm sending you this little cookbook of mine.

How about giving it to the chef of the U.S. Senate dining room? Please tell them to try the recipes with some real Maryland seafood. Is there any reason why they can't serve superb seafood dishes there? It's too bad to serve the kind mentioned in this newspaper article, since we have the best seafood in the world.

Do you think you could get them to try some of these recipes? When I serve them here at Government House, people seem to rave about the flavor.

Sincerely,

AVALYNNE TAWES.

As I have just read, Mr. President, Mrs. Tawes is not content merely to decry the misuse of Maryland's fair name in connection with crabcakes in which even the meat is admittedly from some other State. She has also sent a recipe on which she has noted that it is "the best crabcake recipe I know," and I ask unanimous consent to have it reprinted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the recipe was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CRABCAKES

One pound crab claw meat.
Two eggs.
Two tablespoons mayonnaise.
One tablespoon Kraft's horseradish mustard.
One-fourth teaspoon salt.
One-eighth teaspoon pepper.
Dash of tabasco sauce.
One tablespoon parsley chopped.
Combine all above ingredients including the unbeaten eggs and mix lightly together. Form mixture into desired size of cake or croquette. Do not pack firmly, but allow the mixture to be light and spongy. Roll out a package of crackers into fine crumbs. Do not use prepared cracker crumbs. Then pat the crumbs lightly on the crab cake and fry in deep fat just until golden brown. Remove from hot fat just as soon as golden brown.

Drain on absorbent paper and serve hot.

I think this is the best crabcake recipe I know of.

AVALYNNE TAWES.

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, in addition, the State of Maryland has offered to send me 100 copies of Mrs. Tawes' booklet entitled "My Favorite Maryland Recipes," and I shall distribute them with justifiable pride to each of my colleagues.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further morning business?

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.